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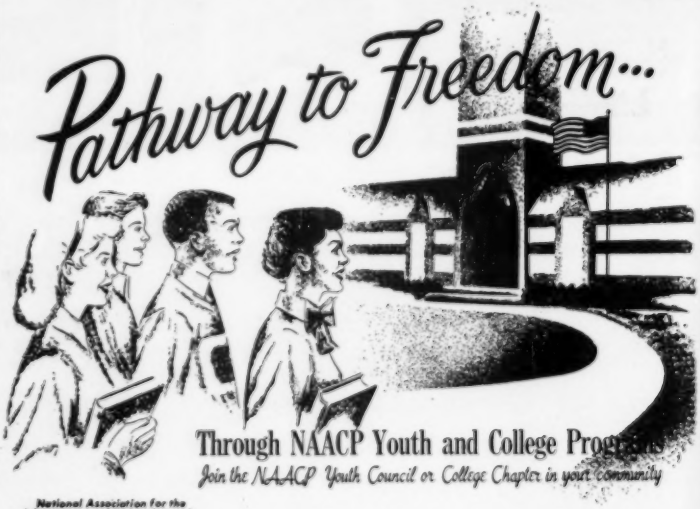

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THE CRISIS

Founded 1910
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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Editor: James W. Ivy
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IN THIS ISSUE

March, 1956

COVER

Annise Powell of Norwich, Conn., now teaches in Manhattan Public School No. 156. An M.A. from the Willimantic State Teachers' College, Miss Powers was at one time a civilian teacher of the Army in the Narimasu elementary school, Tokyo.—Jerry D. Jones Photo

"NO FAIRER AMONG THE FAIR"—*By Lester P. Bailey* 132

THE MONTGOMERY BUS STRIKE—*By Inez J. Baskin* 136

THE "NEW" KU KLUX KLAN—*By Elizabeth Geyer* 139

EDITORIALS 162

DEPARTMENTS

LOOKING AND LISTENING 153

ALONG THE NAACP BATTLEFRONT 164

BRANCH NEWS 169

COLLEGE NEWS 174

GOOD NEWS 179

BOOK REVIEWS 181

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SAN FRANCISCO's *beautiful Civic Auditorium will house all sessions, workshops, and evening meetings of the 47th Annual Convention of the NAACP, June 26-July 1.*

"No Fairer Among the Fair"

By Lester P. Bailey

DELEGATES and visitors to the 47th NAACP Convention are warned to hold onto their hometowns and their hearts when they descend upon the *fairest among the fair,* San Francisco, come June 26. For no where in the world has the age-old union of Man and Nature been more prolific in one setting. No master of words or music has been able to capture all of its multitude of impressions and idiosyncracies in one lyric or score. Whole vocabularies of superlatives

---

LESTER P. BAILEY *is regional field secretary with the West Coast Office of the NAACP and has been employed in a professional capacity with the NAACP since 1947.*

have been exhausted in attempts to portray the way of life . . . the song . . . the story that is The City, San Francisco.

Easterners, Midwesterners and Southerners, fleeing the Summer's "ovens" back home, will "shiver" with utter delight when they step off the plane or train into San Francisco's sparkling-cool, late June days. They will drape themselves in astonishment in fall clothes during the day . . . and wrap themselves unbelievingly in blankets at night. All will stare in disbelief at Market Street's smartly-dressed men, wearing straw hats and carrying top-coats.

"Flatlanders" from the "interior's" prairies and river-valleys, and the East Coast's plans will stand in awe at the commanding views of surrounding mountains, the Bay and the Blue Pacific. Even the "upland" folks are in for a startlingly magnificent panorama, like nothing they've beheld from the hills of home.

"Provincial" New Yorkers, before the first day's end, will be looking up instead of down their noses at this culturally-rich metropolis. Art centers and exhibits dot the city. Here "the play is the thing" too, with "Broadway" just around many corners. North Beach and Sausalito are the "Village"; quaint and Bohemian as you like it . . . and polyglot to boot.

SAN FRANCISCO's *colorful California Street cable car ascending steep Nob Hill. In the background is the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge.*

A SKYLINE *view of San Francisco showing the buildings of the Financial Center and one of the city's famed ferryboats in the foreground. Framing the scene is a portion of the suspension half of the world famous San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge.*

Visitors and delegates, from the Deep South particularly, will have their hearts warmed in the city where integration in places of public accommodation is taken for granted. No where else in America is there freer access to hotels, restaurants and places of recreation than in San Francisco. Southerners will find singular delight in this respite from jim crow.

Persons attending the 47th convention are urged to stay as long as they may in this wonderful city. Plan your visit, or vacation, with free days before and after the convention in order that you will have ample time to look-see. You will miss too much of the convention and the city if you try to pack everything into the five days of June 26 through July 1. You cannot possibly "take in" in a few days what hundreds of thousands of people have spent a lifetime absorbing.

Vacationers will find San Francisco an almost "exact" center of all there is to see in the West. In less than a day's drive north, one is in the fabuluous Redwood Empire where trees large enough to drive a car through are found in towering groves hundreds of miles long. Another day's drive over Oregon's trails will

take you into the Northwest Territory where the "rain-forests" abound and the great Columbia River flows. With all this to enjoy, Canada is just a few more hours' drive up the excellent State of Washington highways.

To the East of San Francisco, five or six hours at a tourist's pace, lie the High Sierra, trout streams, mountain lakes, Yosemite and Sequoia National Park and Forest, respectively. From this area, the edge of the unbelievably vast desert, running from Utah through to Mexico, is accessible in a few hours. In an amazing hours' long metamorphosis from the snow-capped Sierra down through the green timberline and lush valleys, one comes abruptly into the Mojave Desert, famed for its gnome-like Joshua trees. Mysterious Death Valley can be reached by the same routes.

To the South of San Francisco runs State Highway 1 along the crests and precipices of mountains, jutting up from the very bottom of the Pacific Ocean. This winding road will take you to carnival-like Santa Cruz, historic Monterey, quaint and continental Carmel-by-the-Sea, Big Sur, for more Redwood trees, and a thousand more breathless scenes you will never forget. In one day's drive in this direction you can arrive in Los Angeles, Hollywood and Beverly Hills, following lunch or dinner in picturesque Santa Barbara.

In a half-day's drive from Los Angeles to the South you pass through colorful San Diego into Mexico. Two hours' travel from the somewhat gaudy bordertown of Tiajuana is Ensenada where you will get a good taste of genuine "Old Mexico."

Offering all this and San Francisco too, we invite you to "go West" come June.

Picture Credit: San Francisco Chamber of Commerce.

On To San Francisco, California

47th ANNUAL NAACP CONVENTION

San Francisco, California—Tues., June 26-Sun., July 1, 1956, incl.

MAKE YOUR PLANS EARLY TO SEND DELEGATES

This Important Convention Will Make Plans:

- **To block the rising tide of injustice against Negroes in Mississippi and the South.**
- **To counteract propaganda and activities of white citizen groups opposing public school integration.**
- **To procure the full use of the ballot as a weapon of freedom.**
- **To implement the Supreme Court decision for public school integration.**

■ A Montgomery resident explains the local bus strike

The Montgomery Bus Strike

By Inez J. Baskin

ONE wintry afternoon last December, an unassuming, genteel woman, Mrs. Rosa Parks, was arrested on a Montgomery City Lines bus in Montgomery, Alabama. She had refused to give up her seat to a white passenger. The next day she was fined $10 in the Montgomery Recorder's Court for violating a state law requiring racial segregation on city buses. This was the match that set off a spontaneous mass protest against the untoward conditions on local city buses. Montgomery had never before witnessed anything like this mass protest. On Monday, December 5, for example, an estimated 5,000 Negroes packed the Holt Street Baptist church to its outer doors and spilled over into the streets as they protested against the local bus company.

INEZ J. BASKIN *is a resident of Montgomery, Alabama.*

Prior to this mass meeting the city had been flooded with leaflets, coming from no one knew where, asking Negro citizens not to ride the buses. When the local daily, *The Montgomery Advertiser*, carried a banner headline telling citizens about the leaflets, citizens gasped. Some were sceptical of the outcome, while others took the attitude, "Let's wait and see." Posters began to appear at bus stops: "Remember we are fighting for a cause. Do not ride a bus today."

Montgomery Negroes are intimidated, embarrassed, and coerced while riding Montgomery buses because of operation of the local jim-crow statute. Practice is for Negro passengers to fill the bus from the rear; white passengers, from the front. And passengers, either white or Negro, are supposed to be moved from one section to another according to the number of passengers in relation to vacant seats in

ONE *of the Montgomery, Alabama, bus strike mass meetings held in the Holt Street Baptist Church.*

either section. This procedure, naturally, operates for the benefit of white and not the Negro passengers. At the time Mrs. Parks was arrested she was seated in the white section and was told to move to the rear of the bus in order to give a white passenger a seat. This she refused to do. The bus driver claims that he was trying to equalize the seating by asking some of the Negroes to move to the rear.

MASS MEETINGS

Mass meetings were held two nights weekly, and as the days stretched into weeks and the weeks into months, there was no evidence of weakening on the part of Negro citizens. They are holding out for three things: (1) Seating on a first come, first serve basis, with Negroes being seated from back to front and whites from front to back; (2) more courteous treatment by the bus drivers; and (3) Negro bus drivers in sections where the bus patronage is predominantly Negro.

Long conferences with Mr. Tooten, from the home office of the Montgomery City Lines, Inc., in Chicago, Illinois resulted in a deadlock. Nothing was settled. The bus company contended that it was merely obeying the Alabama state law on segregation.

Intimidation was used against local taxi drivers who were hauling Negro passengers. They were sent letters telling them of the penalty for hauling "fares" for less than the amount stipulated by the city when they received their licenses. But the "Motor Pool" became a river of 350 cars, using approximately 1,118 gallons of gas daily at a total cost of

MRS. ROSA PARKS

$300. Passengers were transported with the aid of a city transportation map, and the transportation committee, headed by local businessman Rufus E. Lewis, functioned like a well-oiled machine. Bus service in all-colored sections and on the longer routes had to be suspended. Some thirty bus drivers were released from their jobs, and the bus company had to ask for higher bus fares, which were granted.

Many sympathetic white citizens also stopped riding the buses and sent money anonymously to the mass meetings. White employers of Negro domestic help sent their own cars to pick up their employees. The mass meetings continue, with large attendance and financial aid, some

(*Continued on page* 188)

■ An analysis of the new white supremacy movement which has sprung up in the Deep South in opposition to desegregation of the public schools

The "New" Ku Klux Klan

By Elizabeth Geyer

WHAT has been described by one southern newspaper as a "manicured" Ku Klux Klan and by another southern editor as an "uptown" KKK has been responsible for a new wave of terror in the Deep South during the past year, noted with alarm both by northerners and by southern opponents of persuasion by force.

The new white supremacy movement was organized, in Mississippi, only a few weeks after the Supreme Court issued its anti-segregation school edict of May 17, 1954. The exact beginning of the White Citizens Councils has not been definitely established, but according to a former member of the Mississippi State Democratic Executive Committee, the date of the action was June 26, 1954, the place, Forest, Mississippi, and the prime mover, United States Senator James O. Eastland (Democrat-Mississippi). Conversely, the Mississippi Citizens Councils' annual report gives the time as July (1954) and the site, Indianola, Mississippi.

From its inception (whether in June or July), the White Councils movement has spread through Mississippi and over the border into at least eight other southern states, where the name may vary but the intent is the same. In Mississippi alone, some 60,000 white men now are organized into about 253 local councils, the WCC annual report claims.

The aim of these new white supremacy groups is stated clearly in their official literature and by group spokesmen: to maintain segregation in public schools, in spite of the palpable unlawfulness of the act, and to keep the segregated racial pattern in all other activities.

The constitution of the Bulter County Citizens Council of Alabama, for example, lists these areas in which the group intends to "uphold and maintain racial segregation": schools, hospital service, transportation facilities, hotels and restaurants, recreational facilities, public toilets, places of worship, political administration, social activities, public and private cemetaries.

The Bolivar County Citizens Council of Mississippi, one of the strongest councils in the Delta, has as its objectives to keep the Negro out of white schools, to keep the ballot out of his hands, and to keep him economically dependent.

ELIZABETH GEYER *is assistant to the director of public relations of the NAACP.*

COUNCIL METHODS DIFFER

Methods of the councils differ. Not only is there lack of agreement on method between various councils, but at times between different spokesmen for the same group. A revealing news report was put on the wire by the Associated Press a few months after the WCC came into existence. In a story date-lined Jackson, Mississippi, September 9 (1954), AP reported:

White men who want to keep segregation in force are banding into 'Citizens Councils' throughout Mississippi, several legislators said today.

These men want to persuade first but are determined to use force if necessary, the legislators said.

'Yes, sir,' said Rep. Dave Womack of Humphreys County, . . . 'We have about 500 members, and they mean business. . . . Practically every county in the state has organized, or is organizing. . . .'

This legislator held the view that if Negroes know about the councils they will not try to enter white schools. This would prevent bloodshed, the representative said.

But some other legislators from the Delta and other *black counties* where Negroes outnumber whites, predicted bloodshed and said force will be necessary to keep Negroes from entering white schools.

One said 'a few killings' would be the best thing. . . .

The official literature of the White Citizens Councils and the other new white supremacy groups does not advocate violence. According to a form sent to prospective members in Mississippi, the Councils' legal advisory committee "recommends the application of economic pressure to 'troublemakers.' " The Mississippi WCC annual report (dated August, 1955) notes that "we are exchanging ideas and methods to be used in the battle that lies ahead."

ECONOMIC PRESSURE

How economic pressure is intended to maintain white supremacy and segregation was explained some time ago by WCC spokesmen. A Selma, Alabama, Citizens Council attorney put it this way:

"We intend to make it difficult, if not impossible, for any Negro who advocates desegregation to find and hold a job, get credit, or renew a mortgage. We'll force the troublemakers out."

A White Councils leader of Lexington, Mississippi, who is a member of the Mississippi House of Representatives, was described in a radio report as saying:

If I had a Negro working for me and he belonged to the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) or some similar group, I'd do the same thing I'd do to any Negro working for me who wanted to cause trouble. . . . I'd just let him go. When the Negro tried to obtain work elsewhere in the region, he would find no jobs available. When he tried to borrow money, or even buy food in the stores, he would be met with 'We don't have money to lend,' or 'That item is not in stock.'

During the past year, heavy economic pressure, and violence, as retaliation for anti-segregation activity have occurred in the South, precisely as predicted by the various WCC spokesmen. Although the reprisals have been directed mainly against Negroes, threats and economic pressures have been the lot of some white persons who were known or sus-

pected to be opposed to segregation or to the WCC.

In a speech last June entitled "The Conspiracy to Deny Equality," NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins pointed out: "This school decision heralds the death of all inequality in citizenship based upon race. . . . The conspirators know this, hence the desperation of their tactics. . . . Terror and intimidation are the weapons being used.

"The Mississippi Councils, now spreading, . . . seek to freeze Negroes economically and frighten them bodily. 'We intend,' said one organizer, 'to see that no Negro who believes in equality has a job, gets credit, or is able to exist in our community.' 'Is able to exist'—that means agree and knuckle under, or flee, or die."

MISSISSIPPI SITUATION

Summing up the Mississippi situation at the end of one year of Councils activity, Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Mississippi, declared, "I have reached the point of no return." He added: "I must stay in Mississippi and fight." These, he said, are the threats the WCC has carried out:

First of all, any colored person who says that he wants to vote or that he wants his children to go to a mixed school in Mississippi, is to be classed as a 'trouble-maker.'

If he works for white people, he is to be immediately fired.

If he lives in a house that doesn't belong to him and does belong to a white person, he is to be asked to move.

If he is a cotton farmer and has cotton that has to be ginned before he sells it, none of the gins in the community are to accept his cotton.

If he has notes at the bank where he is supposed to pay installments over a five-year period, that bank note is to be declared then 'due' and he must pay in full or lose his property.

Such a colored person is not to borrow money at any of the banks or at any of the agencies in the community.

Dr. Howard is a physician and president of the Regional Council of Negro Leadership.

Covering the same ground in a letter to President Eisenhower on the Mississippi situation, the NAACP's Roy Wilkins said "these . . . procedures have been encouraged, if not initiated, by so-called Citizens Councils."

In its recapitulation of the first year of operation, the Mississippi WCC names in its annual report as "major accomplishments," the passage of state legislation to cut down the Negro vote and to empower the legislature to abolish public schools in order to prevent desegregation. On the former, the report comments: "It is impossible to estimate the value of this amendment."

A state of primitive savagery has characterized recent anti-Negro activity in Mississippi and parts of South Carolina. In Mississippi, open threats of violence and several killings have accompanied a lesser war of nerves punctuated by obscenities, smears, fake charges of law-breaking, anonymous warnings to leave town, the breaking of car windows, brick- and bottle-throwing. In South Carolina there has been shooting and threats of further violence to come.

SHORT PROXY TOUR

A short tour by proxy of some Mississippi towns will illustrate what is happening in that state:

In Yazoo City (population, 9,746), the president of the local NAACP branch received an anonymous death threat through the mail after his name was published in a WCC-sponsored advertisement in the Yazoo City *Herald* as a signer of a school desegregation petition. Shortly thereafter, most of the 54 signers of the petition were fired from their jobs and refused further employment. If the petitioner owned a business, such as a grocery store or café, he was refused products from wholesalers; at least one Negro merchant was put out of business in this way. One signer who is a war veteran and receives a monthly government check says he has been unable to find any store or bank to cash his check. A signer who is a plumbing contractor was refused further materials by a plumbing supply house. Another man was told by his grocer that a loaf of bread hereafter would cost him a dollar. An NAACP official's wife was falsely informed in a telephone call that her husband was dead; shortly afterward a hearse appeared at her home.

Belzoni, in the next county, is a town of some 4,000 souls. Gus Courts, NAACP president, was summoned by a local bank official and told that in order to remain in good standing with the bank he must resign from the NAACP; he refused and his credit was withdrawn. Later, Mr. Courts was warned several times by white persons not to vote and not to try to get other Negroes to vote. Ignoring this advice, the Negro leader was nearly killed by a shotgun blast on Nov. 25 (1955) while working in his store. Later he commented: "I'm sixty-five years old and I've never had the vote. That's all I wanted." Another Negro, a trucker, had his truck confiscated because he belonged to the NAACP—he was told.

In historic Natchez (population, 22,740), nestling on the Mississippi River, NAACP members have been receiving threatening telephone calls. Dr. A. M. Mackel, a member of the Association's national board of directors, was told by an anonymous caller: "Nigger, you have thirty-six hours to leave town." The president of the school board pleaded with the president of the Natchez NAACP branch to resign "for personal safety." After the NAACP president's signature on a school desegregation petition became public knowledge, his employer was beset with telephone calls demanding that he be fired. Another petitioner had his loans called.

NAACP MEETING INTERRUPTED

An Amite County NAACP branch meeting was interrupted suddenly when the sheriff entered and took the branch books. Shortly afterward, the branch treasurer was arrested on a false charge of assault and battery with attempt to kill the sheiff. County NAACP officers are receiving constant threats of violence.

Jackson, the state capitol, has 98,271 residents. One of these residents, Dr. A. H. McCoy, ex-president of the Mississippi State NAACP, maintains armed guards around his home to protect himself and his family in the face of constant death threats. Dr. McCoy also requested, and received, a special police prowl car assigned to his area. In a front-page

editorial on August 22, the Jackson *Daily News* called Dr. McCoy "insolent, arrogant and hot-headed" and asserted: "The fanatical mouthings of McCoy have reached the limit. If not suppressed by his own race, he will become the white man's problem." The president of the Jackson NAACP branch leaves his telephone off the hook because his family has become upset by the large number of anonymous telephone calls. The station manager of Jackson television station WJDX blacked out a network program on which NAACP special counsel Thurgood Marshall was appearing and substituted a sign, "Sorry, cable trouble." The TV manager subsequently explained that radio and TV networks were overloading the circuits with "Negro propaganda."

In Vicksburg, another small city (27,948 population) on the Mississippi River, a cross was burned in front of the home of the local NAACP president, who was instrumental in presenting to the school board a petition for school desegregation. An active NAACP member has had his credit frozen.

Columbus, on the eastern edge of the state, houses among its 17,172 inhabitants Dr. E. J. Stringer, who has received numerous threatening telephone calls and letters. A former president of the Mississippi State NAACP, Dr. Stringer now is president of the Columbus NAACP. His patients have been told by their white employers not to go to his dental office. Banks refuse him loans although he has repayed promptly in the past, and his automobile liability insurance has been withdrawn.

HOMICIDAL SITUATION

In the small town of Hollandale, a Negro was told by the president of a local bank: "We are not going to renew notes for any of you niggers in the Negro Council and the NAACP. We are going to use peaceful means, but if that won't work we shall use other means."

Mississippi's White Councils are at work.

A particular disaster in the explosive Mississippi situation was reached last May 7, when the Rev. George W. Lee of Belzoni was shot and killed in his automobile. Mr. Lee was active in the NAACP and a spokesman for the anti-segregation cause. A few hours before he was murdered the minister had refused under pressure to remove his name from the list of registered voters. Mr. Lee's murderers have not been apprehended, although an eye-witness to the crime described a car containing several white men as the vehicle from which the shots were fired.

Further killings of Negroes have taken place in Mississippi since Mr. Lee's death.

On August 13, a 63-year-old election campaign worker named Lamar Smith of Brookhaven was shot and killed in broad daylight in front of the court house, after having made vigorous efforts to get out the Negro vote in an imminent primary election. Two men kidnapped 14-year-old Emmett Louis Till from his uncle's home in LeFlore County on August 28, after the boy allegedly had whistled at the wife of one of the men. Emmett's body was found four days later in a nearby river with a bullet hole in the head. The two white kidnappers were acquitted of

murder charges, and were not indicted for the kidnapping.

The death under mysterious circumstances of a 12-year-old Negro boy near Lamar, Mississippi, on Oct. 31, was called by the deputy sheriff an apparent hit-and-run case, but was described by an NAACP investigator as "very strange" and by the boy's mother as murder. On December 3, in Glendora, Mississippi, Clinton Melton, young father of four young children, was fatally shot at the gasoline station where he was employed, by a white cotton gin manager.

The Mississippi White Citizens Councils note in that organization's annual report that "members and officials of the State Association have traveled in nine Southern states telling them what we have accomplished in Mississippi and helping them to organize." Concrete testimony to that statement exists in the White Citizens Councils which have sprung up in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, and South Carolina. The old Ku Klux Klan has been revived in South Carolina and Georgia; Klan rallies have been held recently in South Carolina, marked by cross burnings. White America, Inc., of Arkansas, the Southern Gentlemen's Organization of Louisiana, Florida State Rights, Inc., Patriots of North Carolina, Inc., the National Association for the Advancement of White People, the Virginia League, Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties (Virginia), and the Dover (Delaware) Committee for White Schools, are appellations given to some of the other groups formed or forming to maintain segregation.

"SUICIDAL MANIACS"

Over in South Carolina, economic pressure in and around the towns of Orangeburg and Elloree is relentless, directed particularly against petitioners for school desegregation.

"In Orangeburg, the county seat of sprawling Orangeburg County," wrote a newspaper correspondent who surveyed the situation, "every device and subterfuge is being used to force Negroes into economic submission. Firings from jobs have multiplied. . . . The merchants have become business suicidal maniacs in their fanatic zeal to 'squeeze' Negroes. . . . Although the Citizens Councils state repeatedly that their strategy against Negroes will include no violence, three loads of buckshot were fired into the Fleming Funeral Home at Summerton in Clarendon County on September 16."

Food and other products companies in the Orangeburg-Elloree area refuse to deliver goods to Negro-owned businesses, while white-owned stores will not sell food or other merchandise to Negro customers. Some white merchants who do not agree with the WCC methods have been forced into the conspiracy by more powerful interests.

Elloree Mayor W. J. Deer has stated that "his" Citizens Council "will fight the leaders of the NAACP from ditches to fence posts to keep Negroes out of white schools." The Rev. J. B. Murray, Methodist pastor in Orangeburg County, was transferred from his pastorate there after members of his congregation objected to his co-authorship of a resolution condemning the use of economic pressure to maintain segrega-

tion. The resolution was adopted by 900 delegates at a South Carolina Methodist Conference in Florence.

In neighboring Clarendon County, South Carolina, the county NAACP leader was warned by the newly-formed Ku Klux Klan that he will be kidnapped and horse-whipped. An armed guard now maintains vigil over his home.

South Carolina's Florence County recently lost one of its church pastors who fled to the North after a series of events which included the warning that if he didn't get out of town within ten days, he would be moved out with dynamite. The Rev. J. A. Delaine of Lake City had his church destroyed by a fire of undetermined origin and his parsonage attacked three times. Reason for these actions was contained in an anonymous letter: "We have been notified by the best of authority that you are the one that started the school segregation mess at Manning, S. C." (The minister had helped organize the Clarendon County, South Carolina, school case which contributed to the Supreme Court decision banning school segregation.) One October night a motorcade of white men fired into Mr. Delaine's house three times within thirty minutes. The victim gave the license numbers of the attacking automobiles to police, but the only official action taken was the issuance of a warrant against the minister.

RE-BORN KLU KLUX KLAN

After he and his wife were forced to flee for their lives, Mr. Delaine declared: "The Ku Klux Klan has been born again. They have adopted a new name. The White Citizens Councils and the KKK have a common objective."

In Hoxie, Arkansas, it was the local school officials who were the target of Arkansas' Citizens Councils adjunct—White America, Inc. Following desegregation of the Hoxie schools by the board of education in July, board members experienced anonymous telephone calls, threats, mysterious visitors who vanished into the night, curses and obscenities shouted from cruising automobiles. Mrs. K. E. Vance, wife of the school superintendent, has received telephone calls telling her she is a "nigger woman" and that her husband is wanted "so we can whip him."

Selma, Alabama, was the scene last June of a speech by former governor Herman Talmadge of Georgia who urged some 5,000 persons attending a Dallas County White Citizens Council rally not to hesitate to apply economic pressures to those "who would force racial integration on the South." By September, 19 of 29 persons in Selma who signed a school desegregation petition had been discharged from their jobs. Two other signers were told to remove their businesses.

A bi-racial meeting being held on the campus of Southern Union College in Wadley, Alabama, in June, to consider the threat of communism, was interrupted by a white mob which materialized on the campus and gave this ultimatum to the college president: "Death Notices—We'll give you thirty minutes to get those niggers out. . . ." The Negroes left the campus by a back road to avoid the town.

When the school board in Charleston, Missouri, issued a desegregation

notice, intimidation was directed both at pro-integrationist whites and at Negroes. One Negro youth who registered at the formerly all-white high school was fired from his job, and another in a similar situation threatened.

ENFORCED SEGREGATION

The Rev. James B. Kennedy, pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Farmville, Virginia, "stuck his neck out," so he says, and preached a sermon against enforced segregation. Since then, efforts have been made to unseat him, and to give the "bum's rush" to the minister of the Baptist Church, who is president of the Farmville NAACP.

Several petitioners for desegregated schools were threatened with firing or fired from their jobs in Rusk, Texas, and a Negro in Kilgore, Texas, was told by his employer to get out of a "Negro advancement" group or be discharged from his job.

By February, 1955, economic pressure already was being applied to known NAACP members in Walton County, Georgia, through greater tax levies and heavy fines for minor traffic offenses. A white lawyer in Georgia who has assisted his local NAACP branch in a number of civil rights cases was reported to be preparing his defense in a case of disbarment pending against him, seemingly a result of his efforts for Negro rights and desegregation in Georgia.

In several instances, the weapon of economic intimidation has passed from the hands of private citizens into the ranks of officialdom. Last summer, the Georgia State Board of Education passed a resolution—which it later rescinded—authorizing the permanent revocation of the license of any teacher who supports or condones public school integration, who would teach Negro and white pupils in the same classroom, or who belongs to the NAACP. Information was received at NAACP headquarters that teachers in Mississippi reporting to sign the loyalty oath were asked whether they belonged to the NAACP; if the reply was affirmative, the teacher was discharged. In July, the Alabama state legislature passed what one of its sponsors described as an anti-NAACP bill; the measure requires all organizations soliciting members in Wilcox County, Alabama —with the exception of the Red Cross, charitable and such groups—to register with the county governing body, to pay a $100 license fee for each paid solicitor, and to pay $5.00 per membership. Also in July, Senator Sam Englehardt reported in the Alabama Senate that the Macon County school board had pledged itself to discharge any teacher who supports the demand for non-segregated classrooms, even to the extent of the 190 teachers employed.

CAMPAIGN OF REPRISAL

As the new campaign of reprisal against Negro rights advocates has proceeded in the South, that region's press has been divided in its opinions of the methods used. Hodding Carter, editor of the Greenville, Mississippi, *Delta Democrat Times*, has sharply criticized the White Citizens Councils in his newspaper and in addition published an article on the WCC in *Look* magazine entitled, "Does a Wave of Terror Threaten the South?" Following publication of that article Mr. Carter was condemned in a spe-

cial resolution enacted by the Mississippi House of Representatives.

Speaking on the White Councils, Mr. Carter has declared:

The initial objective of the Councils was to prevent integration of the schools by economic pressures and—I quote—without violence if possible. Its secondary objectives are a reduction of the number of Negro voters, the screening of all political candidates, and social and political reprisal against white citizens who oppose the councils. This is the Klan spirit if not the Klan in fact. The growth of this organization in Mississippi, and its spread into some of our neighboring states is the most alarming — if not unexpected — result of the Court's decision.

On another occasion Mr. Carter called the Citizens Councils an "uptown" Ku Klu Klan.

Hodding Carter has accused the Councils of trying to destroy his newspaper by pressuring merchants to withdraw advertising and subscribers to cancel their subscriptions.

Reacting strongly to the Citizens Councils only a few months after the movement was formed, the Montgomery (Alabama) *Advertiser* published an editorial in November, 1954, entitled "Economic Lynch Law."

"MANICURED KLUXISM"

"The manicured Kluxism of these White Citizens Councils is rash, indecent and vicious," began the editorial.

The night-riding and lash of the 1920's have become an abomination in the eyes of public opinion. So the bigots have resorted to a more decorous, tidy and less conspicuous method—economic thuggery.

The stated aim of these White Citizens Councils is to throttle free speech and impose thought control by means of an economic claw. . . .

This is rash because the Negro himself holds a powerful and growing economic power of his own. The merchants, the bankers, the grocery stores and the auto dealers could find that they have grasped a two-edged sword that cuts wickedly in two directions.

The ever growing economic power of the Negro is not ignored elsewhere because it cannot be ignored.

What is proposed is indecent and vicious because we find a dominant group standing in the shadows threatening to confiscate the meat, drink and shelter of dissenters. . . .

On the other hand, editorial support has been given the WCC by at least seven newspapers: Mississippi's Jackson *Daily News* and Natchez *Times*, and South Carolina's Bishopville *Messenger*, Greenville *Piedmont*, Orangeburg *Times and Democrat*, Charleston *News and Courier* and *Post*.

Last August the Natchez *Times* wound up an editorial on the Citizens Councils with this paragraph:

"An effective organization can combat the rabblerousers quietly, peacefully and effectively. The Natchez Citizens Council needs and invites the membership of high-level men with strong convictions who can and will work for segregation. It is time for white men who have the courage of their convictions to get off their haunches."

NAACP AS TARGET

The previous month the Jackson *Daily News* had devoted a two-column spread on its front page to an editorial addressed "To All White Men and Woman In Jackson." Excerpts follow:

On Monday the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the radical Negro organization dominated by Communist-front leaders, threw down the gage of battle at Vicksburg. The NAACP states it will file similar petitions demanding the ending of segregation in the public schools in Jackson, Clarksdale and Natchez by August 1st.

Thurgood Marshall, mulatto chief counsel for the NAACP, threatens to sue not only county by county, but school by school, to drive the entering wedge in every community of the land. Based on the accomplishments of the NAACP to date, there is every reason to expect that an all-out attempt will be made.

If the declaration of war issued by the NAACP at Vicksburg means anything, it means that a mandate has been hurled at the white people of Mississippi to organize IMMEDIATELY.

In Jackson we are fortunate indeed. A group of public-spirited men who do not propose to sit supinely by and say to the NAACP, 'Come on and integrate us,' formed the Jackson Citizens Council. In full knowledge of Jackson's position in the state, they made considerable sacrifice of time, effort and resources to give this Council its fine beginning, and to set an example of firmness and determination.

Clearly and unequivocally, Senator Eastland issues a clarion call for mobilization. It is a call that should not be unheeded. It should sink in to the hearts of all Anglo-Saxon people in this community and elsewhere in the South.

We call on every white man and woman in Jackson, here and now, to declare himself and take his stand. Get in touch immediately with the Jackson Citizens Council headquarters at the Walthall Hotel and JOIN NOW.

As the 1955 Christmas season lingers in memory, it would not be amiss nor facetious to recall a parody composed by a Mississippian at Christmas, 1954:

'Twas four days before Christmas and all through the state
Not a creature was stirring but spreaders of hate . . .
With prejudice fierce and under whose cap
The mind has been fixed for a permanent nap . . .
They talked about race but they thought about cash
And yelled white supremacy all in a flash.
The reasons they used were as solid as snow
And covered up all they didn't want us to know . . .

The devil had brought all his tricks high and low,
All covered with artificial white supremacy snow.
The stump of old grudges he held in his teeth,
And a smokescreen of hate was his holiday wreath.
The pledges he made were as solid as jelly,
And his past reputation remarkably smelly.
And he was crooked and radical, devoted to pelf,
And there could be no doubt 'twas Old Nick himself. . . .

On To San Francisco, California

47th ANNUAL NAACP CONVENTION

San Francisco, California—Tues., June 26-Sun., July 1, 1956, incl.

Arnold De Mille

WALLACE MCNAB, 42, *of 92 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn, New York, an unemployed elevator operator, walked into the Harlem office of Attorney Cora T. Walker of the law firm of Doles, Sandifer and Walker on January 17 and told her he wanted to join the NAACP and to will his life savings ($1,200) and insurance policy ($500) to the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., as well as make a $20 contribution to the Fund.*

GEORGE BURNS *presents a check for $2,000 to Thomas G. Neuson, president of the Los Angeles, California, branch while Mrs. Marnesba Tackett looks on.*

THE *Fort Worth-Tarrant County, Tex branch celebrates membership campa workers' and fellowsh dinner on January at the Mt. Zion Bapt Church.*

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City

SAMMY DAVIS, JR., *helps the Los Angeles branch 1956 membership campaign by acting as honorary chairman of the membership drive. Mrs. Tackett, membership chairman, congratulates him.*

THE *newly installed officers and executive committee of the Tri-City, Michigan, branch.*

United Press

ATHURINE LUCY, 26, *the first Negro ever to enter the University of Alabama. Her admission led to two campus demonstrations on successive nights and her suspension by the university. Her attorneys have already filed two legal actions in the federal court at Birmingham asking damages and readmission to the university.*

Looking and Listening . . .

NEGRO NEIGHBORS

THE January issue of *The Atlantic Monthly* revealed the findings of Hannah Lees, who has been conducting a quiet inquiry into the reception of Negro families who have been moving into northern communities.

In an article entitled, "Negro Neighbors," the author, an unpaid member of the Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations, points out that "in most big cities today, a traditionally immovable body is anxiously eyeing the approach of an irresistible force, and the cities are eyeing both with a growing awareness that it is one of the jobs of city government to prevent explosion. The immovable body is the average white American who has a deeply ingrained resistance to accepting Negroes as next door neighbors. The irresistible force is, of course, the Negro himself—irresistible for reasons which have more to do with arithmetic than with social progress.

"Here is some of the arithmetic, courtesy of the U. S. Census Bureau. In all but two of the twelve biggest cities in the country—the two are San Francisco and Los Angeles—the Negro population during the last ten years has increased more in actual numbers than the white population, and usually a good deal more. In four of these cities—Chicago, Cleveland, St. Louis, Pittsburgh—the white population has actually declined while the Negro population has jumped by tens of thousands. In New York City today one person out of every ten is Negro, in Chicago one out of every seven, in Philadelphia one out of five.

"The Commission on Human Relations has discovered a good many useful facts about how to help a changing neighborhood absorb the change relatively smoothly and painlessly. They know, practically that a Negro family moving into a white neighborhood will encounter less resistance if they move in the winter rather than the summer and during the week rather than on a weekend; and, ironically, that white householders are more likely to accept Negro neighbors if the Negroes are a cut above them educationally and economically.

"Integrated living is inevitable," concludes Miss Lees. "Sooner or later white homeowners are going to wake up and find there just isn't any place left to run to. Some diehards are facing this already."

NEGRO LISTENERS

HOW radio stations, to meet the growing television challenge, have stumbled upon an unexpected new source of prosperity by slanting programs toward Negro listeners, is

told in the February issue of *Harper's Magazine.*

About 15 per cent of the country's stations—some 400 in all—are now giving this market a median 10 percent of their air time, and the results, for both stations and sponsors, have been remarkable, the magazine states.

Some examples cited in the article:

In New Orleans, a building firm had to cancel its spot advertisements on a local Negro radio program because it could not handle the rush of business.

In Atlanta, an appliance dealer, using the same advertising means, sold more washing machines than all the other dealers in the city combined and won a thirteen-week General Electric sales competition.

In North Carolina, a realtor with a dozen building lots to sell, bought spots on a Negro program one Friday night and sold the entire twelve by the next Monday night.

In Harlem, a small businessman quadrupled his gross receipts in the two-week period after he tried five daily spot radio ads.

In Pittsburgh, a dry-cleaning shop which began sponsoring a daily five-minute broadcast of Negro neighborhood, church, club, and social news expanded into four huge modern establishments within five years.

AAA DISCRIMINATES

THE campaign to stop the Automobile Association of America from issuing its seal of approval to hotels, motels, and resorts that discriminate against Jews, Negroes, and other minority groups was brought to the floor of the New York Automobile Club's annual meeting by a group of local AAA members representing a number of labor and civil rights organizations.

At this meeting, which was held on December 20, the New York Automobile Club was also charged with a policy of discrimination against Negro job applicants.

As a result of these charges, the Automobile Club of New York voted to take whatever steps are necessary to bring about a change in the policies of the National AAA regarding restricted accommodations.

The resolution also called on the president of the New York Automobile Club to set up a committee to consult with civil rights agencies on this matter as well as on the question of discriminatory hiring.

RACE RELATIONS MESSAGE

THE National Council of Churches in a 500-word plea for racial justice released in January asserts that in the eyes of many United States church-goers God is "a white and American idol" molded after their own image.

Calling upon Christians everywhere to "repent of their sinful and irrational acts and attitudes," the National Council, in a message directed specifically to the 35,800,000 members of its 30 constituent communions, likened many present-day white American church-goers to the ancient Greeks who acted as if the deity were an Athenian and were "ridiculously proud of the wrong things."

"We have no right," says the statement, written by Dr. Eugene Blake, National Council president,

"or reason to be proud of the color of our skin, white or yellow or black or red, or the purity of our blood all red and all mixed and we know this. The sociology and anthropology of our day have laid scientific approval on the racial insights that are at least as old as ancient Athens. Yet after 1,900 years and more, we often continue to mold God into a white and American idol."

MISCEGENATION

HERE are two revealing comments on that southern bugaboo, miscegenation and racial intermarriage. One comes from a northern woman, Dorothy Schiff, publisher of the *New York Post;* the other, from the *South Carolina Methodist* (January 13, 1956) in the form of a letter to the editor.

These excerpts are from Mrs. Schiff's weekly column, "Dear Reader" (*Post,* January 1, 1956):

"How would you like your daughter to marry a Negro?"

This is the question designed to end all argument desperately put by segregationalists to equalitarians. Only a few are able to view such a possibility with equanimity. These few have learned to make distinctions among people according to character and education rather than race or religion.

The question unconsciously implies the fear that the couple will be strongly attracted to each other.

In our North, where the races are not segregated, intermarriage is rare. Customs, once established, tend to perpetuate themselves even when social conditions have changed.

What is at the root of the fear existing in our deep South, so terrible to contemplate that unconstitutional laws are enacted against it and pathological fury followed by unpunished violence is aroused by the slightest hint of it?

There is a convincing theory that the cause is not repulsion but overwhelming physical attraction between the races.

Children feel no aversion toward people of another race until it is taught them. In times of danger race hatred is forgotten. White supremacists insist that they are superior, but there is no difference in intellectual capacity between the races. Biologically the races are similar. Strangely, many whites believe that non-whites are sexually more potent. There is much more illiteracy among non-whites than whites chiefly because whites have frustrated the fervid desire of non-whites for education.

The barrier of segregation has been built in all countries where whites, especially Protestant whites, have lived among large non-white populations. In Communist, Moslem and most Catholic dominated countries, where converts are diligently sought, these barriers do not exist. The tiny religious Jewish group prohibits intermarriage on religious not racial grounds. . . .

Why is the question never asked about a son? In segregated countries, white men often cross the racial barrier and gratify their desires extramaritally. Negro slave concubines were permitted in the days of the planters to whose economic advantage it was to have large numbers of Negro children born. Today the practice persists and is accepted as long as it is kept quiet. But legalization of such a relationship is unpardonable and illegal in 27 states. . . .

That sex is a major factor in segregation seems evident. In the Till case, where the "crime" has sexual implications, the penalty was murder condoned by the community. In the Melton case, where sex was not a factor, the same community regarded the murderer of the gas station attendant with horror, refused him bail and took up

British Information Services

FIRST AFRICAN *to be appointed equerry to a British sovereign is a Nigerian, Major Johnson Thomas Ummamkwe Aguiyi-Ironsi of the 4th Battalion, Nigeria Regiment, who attended Queen Elizabeth during her tour of Nigeria, which began on January 27. The Major joined the army in* 1942 *and was commissioned in* 1949.

a collection to help the widow of the murdered Negro. The Pittsburgh Negro football player was permitted to attend a stag dinner, but a subterfuge was found to remove him from the dance after the game. . . .

Dr. R. L. Hunt, who writes the following letter to the editor of the *Methodist Advocate*, is a Methodist layman and a native of Mississippi. He was at one time superintendent of schools in Magnolia, Mississippi.

The question of what should be done about public schools should be separated from the question of racial intermarriage.

The relationship between these questions first interested me several years ago when I was serving as chairman of the Mississippi Education Association's Committee on Negro Education. If we gave more educational opportunity to Negroes, would it increase mixture of the races?

With the help of a couple of sociologists, I investigated every source I could find, reporting the results in the Nashville *Christian Advocate*, organ of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South at the time, in December of 1938.

I don't know how to explain the facts, but they showed far more mixture of the races in the South than in

the North where children went to school together. The increase of persons of mixed descent was nearly 20 per cent more in the South than in the North over a 70 year period, according to figures of the U. S. Census, in proportion to the numbers of persons involved. I remember, too, a study of over 5,000 Negro college graduates—only two cases of intermarriage between races in the lot. Compare that with what happens in the way of racial mixture in any town of that population in the South. Figures showed fewer persons born of mixed blood in cities where children were going to school together, like Detroit and Chicago, than in town in Mississippi such as Vicksburg, Yazoo City, Greenville.

These facts I report to you because your daily newspaper today (Dec. 10) reports a contrary statement, to the effect that "integration in the public schools would cause intermarriage." That statement is contrary to the facts as I have been searching for them for the past fifteen years. I shall be grateful to any person who has information justifying such a statement if he will share such information with me at the address below.

SOUTH AFRICAN CENSORSHIP

APARTHEID in South Africa is developing the trappings of a police state with bureaucratic unreasonableness. Publications and books are banned because it is feared they will increase African nationalism and destroy the visionary theorizing of the South African Nationalists. *Publishers' Weekly* (December 24, 1955) reports:

The controversy over censorship in South Africa continues to deepen. Recently the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, the Right Reverend Ambrose Reeves, complained that state censorship of literature, the press, and radio cuts at the roots of moral life by destroying the sense of and respect for truth. The Minister of the Interior, Dr. Theophilus E. Donges, replied that the main goal of the censorship was to prevent the flow of indecent literature into South Africa.

Since it came into power in 1948, the Nationalist government has banned more than 1,500 publications. Severe penalties are provided for possession of a book blacklisted by the eleven-member Board of Censors in Capetown. The maximum fine is $2,800 or five years' imprisonment. "Objectionable" books are confiscated by customs officials at South African ports.

Another opponent of the censorship, E. Maxwell Arnot, manager of Heinemann & Cassell South Africa Proprietary Ltd., wrote a series of anti-censorship articles in the *Cape Times*, which were reported in a recent issue of the *Bookseller*, magazine of the British book trade. Mr. Arnot noted that some 6,000,000 volumes cross the Union frontiers at various points each year.

Faced with this deluge of books, the censors, "who had probably not been troubled by literature since completing their primary education," fell back on what Mr. Arnot terms "the jacket and title method." This, coupled with the censor's sensitivity to sex, politics, and race issues, might go a long way toward accounting for the detention of "Before We Go to Bed" (children's prayers), "Black Beauty," and "The Way of All Flesh." All issues of American Negro magazines are banned, and copies of *Time* and *Life* which have contained articles critical of South Africa have been delayed for weeks.

A government commission of inquiry is currently conducting a study of objectionable literature. . . .

'Let us hope,' Mr. Arnot concludes, 'that before its terms are published next June, South Africa will not have become the laughing stock of the civilized world.'

DR. DEBORAH PARTRIDGE, *Grand Basileus of Zeta Phi Beta Sorority, Inc., signs $500 check as contribution to Legal Defense Fund of the NAACP.*

DR. JOHN WILLIAMS, *prominent Virginia doctor, presents Mrs. Beatrice Washington, president Prince William County branch, Va., with $500 check for NAACP life membership of Manassas Regional Industrial Institute, Inc.*

THREE *officials of Mount Carmel Baptist church, Arverne, Long Island, N. Y., present $100 check to NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins (second from right).*

KIVIE KAPLAN *(right) presents NAACP life memberships plaques to Wagner Jackson and Mrs. Gertrude Henry of the Wilmington, Del., branch.*

NAACP *life membership plaques are presented to Starling Penn and Dr. George Cannon, New York City, by Kivie Kaplan.*

FINAL *meeting of the South Carolina State Conference of NAACP Branches in the Township Auditorium, Columbia, S. C., November 27, 1955.*

FREEDOM

was never in greater danger

★

THE FULL SUPPORT OF EVERY AMERICAN IS NEEDED AT ONCE

LIFE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

KIVIE KAPLAN DR. BENJAMIN MAYS

CO-CHAIRMEN

Kelly Alexander	Dr. Ralph Harlow	A. Philip Randolph
Bishop W. Y. Bell	Carl Johnson	Walter Reuther
Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers	Dr. Mordecai Johnson	Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
Dr. W. Montague Cobb	Robert H. Johnson	Ike Smalls
Earl B. Dickerson	Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin	A. Maceo Smith
Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick	Hon. Herbert H. Lehman	Dr. Channing H. Tobias
Morton S. Grossman	Dr. James J. McClendon	

10,000 LIFE MEMBERSHIPS IN NAACP ARE THE MINIMUM NECESSARY FOR OUR GREAT CRUSADE

The forces of un-Americanism are on the march, gathering strength, planning the attack on the very citadel of our nation's free institutions. With the court's decision on desegregation as their special target, using weapons of economic reprisal and political intimidation, they can set back for years the cause of freedom. To fight this vicious attack by unprincipled men, NAACP will need the full support of all Americans of all colors, races and creeds. Your contribution to this non-profit organization was never so important as NOW.

Annual installments of as little as $50 or more, sent to either your local branch of NAACP or the New York headquarters, can make you a Life Member in this vital crusade.

N.A.A.C.P.
0 West 40th Street
ew York 18, N. Y.

I wish to become a Life Member of the NAACP.

☐ I enclose check of $.....
as first payment toward a Life Membership.

☐ I enclose check of $500 for full Life Membership.

Name.....

Address.....

City and State.....

Editorials

MONTGOMERY BUS STRIKE

THE spontaneous mass revolt of Montgomery, Alabama, Negroes at riding local jim-crow buses is further proof of the Negro's humiliating experience every time he rides a bus in the South. The experience shocks their bodies and shrivels their souls. It is irritating, demeaning, and often insufferable when bus drvers, as they frequently are in the Deep South, turn out to be vicious brutes. The very idea of separating citizens on public transportation by "race" in a democracy is repugnant in itself!

When a Negro gets on a city bus in the jim-crow South, his rights as an individual simply vanish. He is usually not allowed to enter by the same door as the whites, and he must, usually, exit by the rear door. The practice, of course, varies from place to place. He cannot take a seat of his choice, because he is not white, and should he chance upon a seat midway the bus (even in the jim-crow section), he can be ordered to relinquish it to a white passenger. No one has any regards for his feelings or his priority. To the usual rush-hour crowding with its frayed tempers and nerves, the Negro finds the added insolence of white passengers, and often the abuse of foulmouthed bus drivers. Twice a day he suffers Golgotha!

MONTGOMERY Negroes had taken as much of this abuse as they could stand. All they needed was an incident to fan their smoldering resentment into flame. That incident happened last December with the arrest and fining of Mrs. Rosa Parks, a respectable Montgomery citizen. The reaction of Negro citizens was spontaneous; their opposition a mass resentment, which at first went unorganized. Later, however, under the able leadership of the Reverend Mr. M. L. King, Jr., pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Negro citizens began organizing car pools, collecting monies for gasolene, and then the boycott of the Montgomery City Lines, Inc., was on and it has been just about ninety percent effective ever since.

Paradoxically, the protesting Negroes did not demand complete abolition of jim crow, which, naturally, meant an attack upon the state segregation law. No, their demands were quite modest. They asked for three simple things: Seating on a first come, first serve basis, with Negroes being seated from back to front and whites from front to back; more courteous treatment by the bus drivers; and Negro bus drivers in sections where the bus patronage is predominantly Negro. But the bus company, citing state law, and the city fathers, falling back upon southern insolence, refused even to consider these minimum demands of Negro citizens. They retaliated with threats and bombings.

WHAT this successful boycott of a powerful traction interest in the Deep South means is that the southern Negro, contrary to what his "good" white Southern friends say, is fed up with jim crow and segregation.

He has made up his mind that he wants first-class citizenship, with all its rights, privileges and obligations. And he is willing to fight and sacrifice for it! The South dislikes the imputaton that it is not civilized, that its Eastlands and Roy V. Harrises do not speak for the true South. Well, if this is true, incidents like the Montgomery bus strike are giving our "good" Southern white friends a chance to stand up and be counted.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA

THE University of Alabama is a shame and a disgrace to the other universities of America. Imagine the students of a university chanting and howling "Keep Bama White—To Hell with Autherine!" Imagine a university campus as the scene of cross burnings and yelps for the blood of a co-ed simply because she happens to be a student—and Negro! All Miss Lucy is seeking is an education. Imagine the Governor of Alabama replying to a request for the State Militia with the shameful explanation: "It is normal for all races not to be overly fond of each other. . . . We are not excited."

We shall have to be charitable to the University of Alabama, with its superior culture, as we are to a Klan Klavern or to "Hex" murderers. We shall have to recognize that here are a people suffering from one hundred and twenty-five years of Anglo-Saxonism, and from a too sudden contact with Yankee civilization. We shall expect the University to issue, in addition to the usual registration and class cards, *Sippenblatten* (race cards, as certification of one hundred percent Anglo-Saxon descent) to all future students, to undertake a statewide drive to improve the breed, to order Alabamians to keep pedigree books similar to those kept by animal breeders. We shall expect annual state conferences of *Volksgenossen* (racial comrades) to work for the continued purity of the white master race.

It was at superior, civilized University of Alabama, the very aristocracy of blondness, that good Christian, noble, chivalrous Southern gentlemen fought not only to slam the door of opportunity in Miss Autherine Juanita Lucy's face—but also to lynch her! We hail the *Blonde Bestie* of Nietzsche!

"DON'T BE BITTER!"*

IS it not singular that so many white folk in advising black folk—and the ancient industry of advising blacks is booming just now—are careful to say, first and last: "Don't be bitter!" Why is there this insistence on the necessity of a sweet and even temper as an asset in life? Mainfestly it is because most Americans who know or who begin faintly to realize the difficulties, complications and insults of a dark man's life today cannot imagine themselves suffering such wrongs without resorting to dynamite or suicide.

With the best will, therefore, they hasten to say: "Don't be bitter—don't mind—look on the bright side—and—and—"—then they trail off helplessly and look you rather miserably and apologetically in the face. . . .

* Reprinted from the August 1914 *Crisis*.

Along the N. A. A. C. P. Battlefront

Alabama Rioting: The mob action on the campus of the University of Alabama has been cited by Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, as additional evidence of the urgent need for congressional legislation against mob violence and enactment of the Powell amendment to withhold federal funds from educational institutions which refuse to comply with the United States Supreme Court ban against segregation in public education.

Florida Case: The United States Supreme Court was asked in January to review the judgment of the Florida Supreme Court which refused to

THE *Fighting Fund for Freedom banquet of the Florida State Conference of NAACP Branches held in Miami, Florida, October* 28-29, 1955.

PANCA AWARDS IN HOUSTON, TEXAS—*NAACP field secretary Edwin C. Washington, Jr. (left) presents PANCA certificates to Mrs. A. M. Gaines, Mrs. Zelda Mosely for her mother, Mrs. Zelda Wilson, Mrs. Ethel Potts, Carter Wesley, George T. Nelson for his worker, W. H Robinson, Mrs. Erma LeRoy, her husband Moses LeRoy, and Dr. Fred D. Parrott. Other PANCAS not shown are Joe Lane, Mrs. A. E. Bowie, C. N. Webb, Louis Farrell, Jr., and Mrs. Elijane H. Anderson. PANCA awards or merit certificates go to NAACP workers who bring in the most members during a membership campaign.* BOTTOM: *Mrs. Thelma Duncan of the Houston branch presents Victory Trophy to Carter Wesley (second from right), editor of* Houston Informer, *for bringing in the largest number of new members,* 131.

order the state university to admit a Negro student to its law school without further delay. This is the third time in almost seven years of litigation that the judgment of the Florida state court, which denied admission of the Negro student, was brought before the high tribunal for review.

On May 24, 1954, the Supreme Court instructed the Florida court to reconsider, in the light of the decision in the school segregation cases, the ruling which denied the Negro Student, Virgil D. Hawkins, immediate admittance to the state supported law school because of his race.

The Florida court admitted that it was bound by the U. S. Supreme Court May 1954 decision but on October 19, 1955, ruled that to admit

Layne's Studio

JOHN G. LEWIS (*right*) *of Baton Rouge, Louisiana, presents check for* $2,000 *from Louisiana Education Association to the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., at NAACP annual meeting in New York City on January* 3. *NAACP president Arthur B. Spingarn accepts the check.*

Negro students to the State University would "present grave and serious problems." It appointed a commissioner to determine when and under what circumstances Negro students should be admitted to the University.

The commissioner was instructed by the court to report his findings within four months. Despite the fact that there were no known hearings or proceedings held by the commissioner, the Florida Board of Control on January 12, 1956 asked the court to extend until July 2, 1956, as the date for the commissioner to make his report—two years after the U.S. Supreme Court instructed the Florida State court to reconsider its decision to admit the Negro student.

The request to have the Florida Supreme Court's October 19, 1955 ruling reviewed was made in a petition filed in behalf of Hawkins by NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund attorneys Thurgood Marshall, director-counsel of Legal Defense, Robert L. Carter, his assistant, both of New York and Horace Hill of Daytona Beach, Florida.

The judgment of the Florida state supreme court was based on the May 31, 1955, implementation order, which granted time for desegregation in elementary and secondary schools, rather than the May 17, 1954, decision as instructed by the high Court, the attorneys for Hawkins argue.

Almost seven years have elapsed since Hawkins first applied for admission to the University and the action of the Florida court subjects Hawkins to "irreparable injury." Further delay in keeping him out of the University "could well effectively deprive him completely of his constitutional rights," the attorneys complain.

Counsel assisting in the case are William Taylor and Elwood H. Chisolm, both of the Legal Defense staff in New York.

Service Men Protected: An NAACP sponsored bill to give the same protection against assault and violence to members of the armed services as to other federal officials has been passed in the House of Representatives by unanimous consent. A similar bill has been approved by a subcommittee of the Senate judiciary committee but has not been reported out as yet.

The measure came up on the House consent calendar on Monday, January 16. Under this procedure, a single objection from the floor would have prevented its passage. But, by a fortunate turn of circumstances, the southern congressman who was scheduled to object to it left the floor and was unable to return in time to object.

The House action came after thirteen years of effort to secure such legislation, made necessary because of repeated assaults on Negro servicemen in the South by local police and civilians. Under existing law, victims of such attacks have no federal protection.

A bill to provide such protection was first introduced in 1943 at the request of the late Henry L. Stimson, then Secretary of War. When the legislation failed to pass in the forties, attempts to secure its enactment were abandoned by the armed services.

In 1951, Senator Herbert Lehman (D., N.Y.), upon request of the NAACP, introduced the measure as an amendment to the Universal Military Training bill. The amendment was tabled by a vote of 57 to 30 with the late Senator Pat McCarren (D., Nev.) and Senator John Stennis (D., Miss.) leading the opposition. A companion amendment introduced in the House by former Congressman Frank Havenner (D., Calif.) was also defeated.

In the present Congress, Senator Lehman again introduced the measure. Similar bills were introduced in the House by Congressman Emanuel Celler (D., N.Y.), chairman of the Judiciary Committee in the House, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell (D., N.Y.) and Congressman James Roosevelt (D., Calif.). All of the House bills were identical. The Judiciary Committee

reported out the Celler bill.

The penalties would be as follows: For assault, three years in jail or $5,000 fine. For assault with deadly weapon, ten years or $10,000. For manslaughter, ten years. The statute also provides death or life in prison for murder cases.

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What the Branches Are Doing

Alabama: Mrs. Ernnie Younge was speaker at the January 22 meeting of the TUSKEGEE branch. She stressed the rights and privileges of citizenship in her talk.

The branch has formally presented a plaque, citations, savings bonds and cash to three of its top membership getters. They are Thelma Lucas, Mrs. Beulah Johnson, and Mrs. Mae W. Pogue.

Attorney John Bolt Culbertson of Greensville, South Carolina, was branch founder's day speaker on February 9.

California: The annual report of the WEST COAST office shows that "liabilities" far outweigh "assets" in the matter of civil rights, according to director Franklin H. Williams.

Additional evidence of racial classifications of Armed Forces personnel has been uncovered by the West Coast office. Among the documents reported to the NAACP is a memorandum issued by the Chief of Naval Personnel to "All Ships and Stations" ordering the labeling of officers and enlisted men as "Mongolian, Indian (American), and Malayan." These three categories followed in chronological order those of "Caucasian" and "Negroid." The Navy memo is dated October 18, 1952, and "reference" is made to a Department of Defense Personnel Policy Board memo of April 5, 1950.

Sammy Davis, Jr., has agreed to serve as honorary chairman of the 1956 membership campaign of the LOS ANGELES branch. Mrs. Marnesba Tackett is chairman of the membership committee.

George Burns, of Burns and Allen, contributed $2,000 to the work of the Association.

Illinois: The CHICAGO youth council sponsored a benefit dance on January 27.

Massachusetts: Kivie Kaplan, co-chairman of the NAACP life membership committee, was awarded the social action achievement award by the Phi Beta Sigma fraternity of BOSTON. The award was given by Dr. George D. Flemmings and Dr. Von D. Mizell, national program directors, local chapter president, Joseph E. Harris, and chapter and social action chairman, Alphonzo A. Arnold.

Epsilon Gamma Lamda chapter of the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity, under the presidency of Justice Edward O. Gourdin, is taking increasing in the fight for full freedom for Negro citizens and has subscribed to a life membership in the Association.

Michigan: The DETROIT branch has established an all-time high financially for an Association branch. Total branch income, December 1, 1954 to November 30, 1955, was $63,370.96,

J. Freeman Greene

MRS. FANNIE CLAY, *advisor to the Knoxville, Tennessee, youth council. Mrs. Clay, dean of students at the Austin High School, is shown holding the Ike Smalls adult-advisor's trophy for 1955, which she won for her fine work with her youth group.*

representing an increase of $24,658.13 over its 1954 income.

The TRI-CITY branch has elected and installed the following officers: Daniel Neusom, president; Adam White, first vice-president; Louis Jordan, second vice-president; Bernice White, third vice-president; Deloris Griggs, secretary; and Clarence Sabbath, treasurer.

Minnesota: The Rev. Denzil A. Carty, president of the Minnesota state conference, installed the new officers of the MINNEAPOLIS branch, along with board members, at the January meeting.

New York: The EASTERN LONG ISLAND branch installed its newly elected officers, at the first Baptist church in Riverhead, on January 16, as follows: Albert Seay, president; Stewart Harris, vice-president; Mrs. Kathleen Roach, secretary; and P. S. Holmes, treasurer. The executive committee has the following personnel: Mrs. Anna Holmes, Robert Whigham, Mrs. Virginia Whigham, Mrs. Myrtle Skeete, Mrs. Cula Perry, Mrs. Mary Hickman, Arthur Buckner, Mrs. Caleb Hodges, Mrs. Mary Mayo, Rev. P. D. Tann, and Jefferson Williams.

Wallace McNab, 42, of 92 Atlantic Avenue, BROOKLYN, an unemployed elevator operator, walked into the Harlem office of Attorney Cora T. Walker, of the law firm of Doles, Sandifer and Walker. He told her he wanted to join the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, will his life savings and insurance policy to the Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., and make a $20 contribution to it. Mr. McNab has a bank balance of $1,200 and his insurance policy is for $500.

The BROOKLYN branch installed the following officers in January: Rev. Grant S. Shockley, president; Hon. Myles Paige, first vice-president; Hon. Dolly L. Robinson, second vice-president; Rev. A. McLees, third vice-president; Bernard Freeman, fourth vice-president; Rabbi Eugene Sack, fifth vice-president; Mrs. Hallie Watkins, secretary; Dorothy Levy, assistant secretary; Mrs. Queenie Tillinghurst, treasurer; and Thomas Wood, chaplain.

The LONG BEACH branch presented singer Muriel Rahn in a benefit song recital in January.

The NEW YORK CITY branch reports an increase in membership from two to six thousand as a result of the Emmett Till murder in Mississippi. The branch also reports hiring of a Negro driver, Robert Robinson, by the Silvercup Bread Company as a result of branch pressure. New officers of the New York branch are Russell P. Crawford, president; William J. Lake, vice-president; Aloncita Flood, treasurer; Hortense Bowery, secretary; and Edith Beritz, assistant secretary.

The CORONA-EAST-ELMHURST branch sponsored a mass rally on January 19 at the Corona Congregational church to "Protest Injustice in the South." About 550 people heard former Judge Hubert Delany urge his listeners to be "militant" and "uncompromising" in their protests against "slipshow justice."

Oregon: The new officers of the PORTLAND branch were installed on January 15, with a short address by president W. H. Marple.

Pennsylvania: Executive secretary Charles A. Shorter of the PHILADELPHIA branch addressed the graduating class of the Sultzberger junior high school in January.

The PENNSYLVANIA STATE CONFERENCE voted on January 29 to send $404 to the Brownsville-Uniontown branch in support of Dr. F. L. Vaughn, Negro dentist, who recently lost a restaurant discrimination suit in Uniontown. The money is for payment of court costs and legal fees.

South Carolina: James M. Hinton

NAACP LIFE MEMBERS *secured by Dr. Maurice F. Rabb, former president Louisville, Kentucky, branch. Pictured (from left, front) are Dr. Gerald Hart, Dr. Jesse Bell, Dr. Maurice Rabb, Sherman Smith, president The Yearlings Club; and Claude Benboe, president Louisville Golfer's Club. Back row: Clem Holloway, Dr. G. W. Phillips; Dr. Roscoe Bryant, Jr.; J. E. Hankins, executive president Mammoth Life Insurance Co.; Joseph F. Laine, Jr.; and Dr. E. T. Dennis. Not all life members are pictured.* BOTTOM: *Mrs. Clarissa Johnson and Judge Carl R. Johnson, president of the Kansas City, Missouri, branch surrounded by hostesses at their annual Fall Tea and Festival.*

of COLUMBIA writes executive secretary Roy Wilkins, under date of January 23, on expenditures of NAACP relief monies in South Carolina: "In many cases the money was given as an outright gift; in others, as a loan. Each case was considered on its merits and I am proud to say that we have taken care of each person who signed a petition and as a result suffered reprisals. . . ."

Virginia: Dr. E. B. Henderson, president of the Virginia State Conference, was principal speaker at installation services of the RICHMOND branch. Branch officers are Dr. J. M. Tinsley, president; John M. Brooks, first vice-president; Rev. H. A. Parker, second vice-president; Mrs. Helen Smith, secretary; John Sweat, assistant secretary; C. F. Foster, treasurer; and Rev. P. B. Walker, chairman of board.

The executive board consists of James Bailey, W. Lester Banks, Thomas Bowers, George Brice, Mrs. Katheryn Davis, C. O. Dean, John Drew, Attorney Roland Ealey, Mrs. Mildred Fountain, D. B. Glenn, Ruth Hawes, Mrs. Janie Hayes, Attorney Oliver Hill, Mrs. Lillian Jordan, Mrs. Senora Lawson, George Lewis, Oavid Longley, Attorney Ralph Page, C. D. Patterson, Dr. J. Rupert Picott, Martha Powell, Mrs. M. M. Ransome, Elaney Stallings, James Stewart, Dr. William Thornton, D. W. Washington, Rev. C. H. S. Watkins, Rufus Wells, and Rev. S. Russell Wilson.

Wisconsin: The new officers of the MILWAUKEE branch are Fred Hickman, president; Eddie Walker, vice-president; Mrs. Ola Lampkins, secretary; Carolyn Allen, assistant secretary; and Wilbur Halyard, treasurer. Executive committee members are Rev. M. J. Battle, Eugene Bell, John Junior, Mrs. Grant Gordon, Mrs. Wilbur Halyard, G. L. Glover, Dr. C. F. Turney, Clarence Parrish, Judge Nicholas Topping, Saul Levine, Roy Wilson, William Dodds, Jr., and Dale Phillips.

Sworn in by outgoing president Dale Phillips, the new officers promised to uphold the aims and aspirations of the NAACP and to work untiringly for the advancement of colored people everywhere.

Pauvre moune bail déjeuner nans quior.

Poor people entertain with the heart.

Bouqui se Bouqui.

Once a fool always a fool.

Chin gangnin quatt pieds main li pas ça couri nan quatt chemin.

Although a dog has four feet, he can't run in four roads at the same time.

—Haitian Creole Proverbs

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REGISTRAR, LINCOLN UNIVERSITY
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Cyrus B. Taylor, LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) professor, was recently awarded the Ph.D. degree by the University of Minnesota. Dr. Taylor majored in education and minored in industrial education. His doctor's thesis is titled "Mechanic Arts Program in Land Grant Colleges Established for Negroes."

Five "golden anniversary" graduates helped Lincoln celebrate its 90th birthday in January. The graduates of the class of 1905 were special guests of the university at its annual observance of founders' day. They were Dr. Homer Wilburn of Chicago; Ura F. Saunders of Kansas City, Missouri; Mildred Boone of Jefferson City; James Saunders and Jennie Schweich Cooley of Chicago.

Two recent events at Lincoln were presentation of the Virginia State College Band on January 15, and the concert of Roland Hayes on January 19.

■

VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY was one of three Richmond, Virginia, colleges to receive a set of Great Books of the Western World from the American Library Association. The gift was made possible by a grant of the Old Dominion Foundation and the ALA acted as distributing agent.

Virginia Union celebrated its 57th founders' day on its present site and its 90th year as an educational institution on February 10. The founders' day address was delivered by Dr. Lyman B. Brooks, class of '29, director of the Norfolk Division of Vir-

ginia State College. Special music was sung by the University Choir under the direction of W. J. Goodwin.

■

The TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE "Race Relations Report for 1955" says that in 1955 there was no indication of a pattern of substantial adjustment or of extensive conflict in race relations in the South. There are islands of tension and conflict in areas where adjustment has been made, and some measures of adjustment are noted in areas where tension or conflict predominates. The over-all picture, says the report, seems to be one of definite progress toward non-segregation.

■

Seventeen Ethiopian students are now studying at MCGILL UNIVERSITY in Canada, according to *New Times and Ethiopia News*. Many more students are studying in the United States than in Canada, with well over 100 students studying in the United States at the expense of the Ethiopian government.

Dr. John H. Lewis, president of MORRIS BROWN COLLEGE, was on a lecture tour in Bermuda February 5-10.

Nine students at Morris Brown are included in "Who's Who in American

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Colleges and Universities, 1955-56." They are Mary Clay, Raymond Rosser, Amelia Thornton, Norris Long, Gwendolyn Blunt, all seniors; and Percy Vaughn, Jr., Mamie Walker, Moses McClendon and Lizzie Terry, all juniors.

■

JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY is awarding seven scholarships to worthy applicants for admission to the freshman class of 1956-1957 through competitive examinations. The first award is $500; the second, $400; and the third, $300. These seven scholarships will be granted to seven high school seniors or graduates applying for admission to the university, who make the highest scores on competitive examinations.

The university has received a $185,900 endowment grant from The Ford Foundation.

■

The third consecutive festival of Negro music and drama was held by RADIO STATION WLIB, New York City, January 19-February 12.

■

Forty-three students of the WILLIAM PENN BUSINESS INSTITUTE (Philadelphia, Pa.) made the honor roll during the last school term.

■

The General Alumni Association of FISK UNIVERSITY has joined with Dr. Jerome S. Davis, former visiting professor of religion at Fisk from Yale, in establishing an annual award for outstanding service in the fields of race relations, civil liberties, and economic justice.

The award will honor the memory of Dr. Davis' father, Jerome Dean Davis, pioneer missionary to Japan who fought all his life for equality between the races. To be known as the "Fisk Distinguished Service Award," it will carry with it a cash honorarium of $500. Any Negro whose service to the race has been outstanding is eligible for nomination. The award will be given for service done by the honoree in the year it is given.

■

The VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF LAW (Nashville, Tenn.) announces publication of the *Race Relations Law Reporter*, a professional magazine devoted to the impartial dissemination of the primary materials in race relations law, including much that is available from other sources. Publication will begin early in 1956.

■

Rocco Germano has been named director of the SAINT MARY'S COLLEGE (Notre Dame, Indiana) orchestra. Mr. Germano has joined the faculty as a member of the music department.

■

The Pestalozzi chapter of the Future Teachers of America at SHAW UNIVERSITY presented a skit, "At St. Peter's Gate," on January 16. The general idea of the skit was to encourage the support of organizations designed to improve educational opportunities.

■

Dr. Stuart W. Cook, retiring president of the New York State Psychological Association and head of the department of psychology at NEW YORK UNIVERSITY's graduate school of arts and sciences, delivered a talk on "Desegregation: A Psychological Analysis" at the two-day annual meeting of the NYSPA on January 28.

"One of the clearest findings of studies of the relation between intergroup contact and attitude change is that while individuals rather quickly come to accept and even approve of association with members of another group and even approve of association with members of another social group in situations of the type where

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they have experienced such association, this approval," says Dr. Cook, "is not likely to be generalized to other situations unless the individuals have quite close personal relationships with members of the other group. . . ."

■

Educational programs at SPRINGFIELD COLLEGE (Springfield, Mass.) have been consolidated into three schools by action of the board of trustees. They are the school of humanics, the school of physical education, and the school of teacher education. At the same time, all courses in general education are being brought together into a division of general studies.

■

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of ATLANTA UNIVERSITY, was awarded, *in absentia*, the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Laws by the University of Liberia on January 8. The award was made at a special convocation which was part of the inaugural celebration for President William V. S. Tubman of Liberia.

Among recent campus activities were a Negro history-week speech by President Clement, a talk on France today by Professor Oscar A. Haac of Emory university, and a talk on urban redevelopment in metropolitan Atlanta by Robert A. Thompson of the staff of the Atlanta Urban League. Dr. Frank P. Graham, former president of the University of North Carolina, was university convocation speaker on January 29.

Dr. Robert G. Armstrong of the department of anthropology has contributed the section on the Igala and

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the Idoma-Speaking people to *Peoples of the Niger-Benue Confluence*, published in London in December by the International African Institute.

■

SPELMAN COLLEGE has joined twenty-one institutions of higher learning in a program of examinations for scholarship awards. This cooperative program makes available to high school students over $100,000 worth of Scholarships.

■

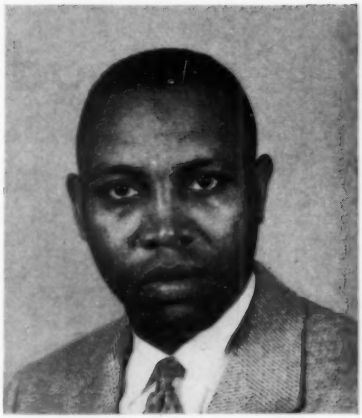
An administrative committee at MOREHOUSE COLLEGE has selected Professor and Mrs. G. L. Chandler and Dr. and Mrs H. C. Hamilton to receive the $2,500, a couple, European travel grants made possible by a friend of the college who prefers to remain anonymous. The grants will be used for travel and informal study in Europe during the summer of 1956.

■

DILLARD UNIVERSITY received a gift of $70,000, in January, from the Edgar B. Stern family. The gift was made in honor of Mr. Stern's 70th birthday and came from Mrs. Stern and their children. The money will be applied, explains President Dent, toward the cost of the Dillard library building.

The New Orleans chapter of the Frontiers of America, Inc., has presented the Dillard library with a set of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

Dr. Nathan M. Pusey, president of Harvard university, was university chapel speaker on January 23. He spoke on the objectives of a liberal education



HENRY M. ELDRIDGE

Henry M. Eldridge, chairman of the area of science and mathematics at the FAYETTEVILLE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE, was awarded the Ed. D. degree at the winter convocation of the University of Pittsburgh on February 2.

■

Dr. Rother R. Johnson, assistant professor of microbiology at MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE, was awarded a China Medical Board fellowship in parasitology and tropical medicine. He spent the months of January and February studying at the University of Puerto Rico School of Medicine, San Juan, Puerto Rico.

■

THE UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND received a record total of $1,624,965 in contributions to its 1955 campaign, it was announced in January by W. J. Trent, Jr., executive director.

Good News

Governor Robert Meyner of New Jersey has appointed Assistant Attorney General Roger M. Yancey of Newark as district court judge to succeed Judge Ferdinand D. Macucci. This is said to be the first time in the history of New Jersey that a Negro has been appointed judge.

★ ★ ★

Maryville College in Tennessee has announced that James A. Hamlett has been hired as a substitute member of the faculty for this semester. He is the first Negro to become a faculty member in the school's 135-year history.

★ ★ ★

Private Lessie Smith, a Negro, saved Sergeant James Closson's life during a 3,000-foot parachute jump at Fort Campbell, Kentucky, when Closson's chute failed to open. As Closson plunged by Smith, the latter grabbed the chute's lines, carrying the sergeant to earth and safety. Smith was promoted on the spot to private first class.

★ ★ ★

Howard Jenkins, Jr., professor of law at Howard University School of Law, Washington, D.C., has been appointed legislative attorney in the Office of the Solicitor, Department of Labor.

★ ★ ★

Norman Lewis, a New York artist, won the $200 popular prize in the 1955 Pittsburgh International Exhibition with his painting, "Migrating Birds" The painting was purchased by a Pittsburgh collector.

★ ★ ★

Philippa Schuyler was pianist soloist with the Brooklyn, New York, Philharmonia on February 14, 1956.

★ ★ ★

Brooklyn College, New York, has named Dr. John Hope Franklin, professor of history at Howard, to be a full professor and chairman of its history department. He is the first Negro to head an academic department in the city college system, or in the state.

Layne's Studio

MOVING DAY—*The Coca Cola vending machine in the Upper Manhattan Medical Center, New York City, is removed as Dr. Richard Carey (far right), medical administrator, and Dr. Arthur Logan, assistant administrator look on. Machine was ordered out following reports that a Coca Cola distributor in South Carolina is spearheading the White Citizens Council boycotts of Negroes who signed desegregation public school petitions.*

Book Reviews

CATHOLICS, COLOR AND TOUSSAINT

Catholic Approaches to Modern Dilemmas and Eternal Truths. **Edited by Elizabeth Pakenham. New York: Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, 1955. 240pp. $3.50.**

God's Men of Color. **By Albert S. Foley, S. J. With a Foreword by Archbishop Richard J. Cushing. New York: Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, 1955. X+322pp. $4.50.**

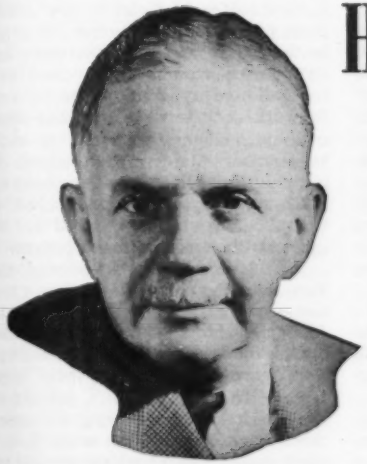
Pierre Toussaint: **A Citizen of Old New York. By Arthur and Elizabeth Odell Sheehan. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1955. 257pp. $3.50.**

Catholic Approaches to Modern Dilemmas and Eternal Truths as presented by Lady Elizabeth Pakenham and nine other writers (eight of whom either have or have had a connection with Oxford University—by education or employment) is a book of serious essays uneven in quality. This is so because too often they carry a dogmatic tone which Catholicism at its best does not have and which Christian conviction in its truest sense does not need. And we may turn to John Henry Newman's *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* to illustrate this. For what most of the "approaches" in this volume lack is precisely what Cardinal Newman had in abundance: the ability to state his case without overstating it. Indeed, what earned Newman the lasting respect of his contemporaries and posterity was the dignified humility of tone in which he asserted his (to use his own term) *credenda*—the things to be believed—as distinguished from *agenda*—the things to be done. Newman marked well the point which lay behind the celebrated quarrel between the owl (the frowning threat) and the nightingale (the song of cheer).

Hence when we are told by Dr. Eric Strauss in his "approach" to "The Church and Sex" that "Catholic Christianity prizes the values potentially resident in human sexuality . . . so highly that . . . it lays down the exact conditions in which the soul of man, as well as his more temporal components can benefit," we are tempted to reply. With the morally responsible, Catholic or non-Catholic, sex is not less serious and sacred, or more sinful, for being simply good, and it is certainly debatable if formalization has really improved its profound meaning and value.

Or, when we are assured by Lady Pakenham that "His institutions are perfect and unalterable" and "The only room for a slip-up is in our interpretation of them" merely to be instructed that we are "kept absolutely straight" in such interpretations by "the teaching in the Gospels" and "the teaching of the Church" we again turn aside to Newman. For him "the prerogative of infallibility in religious matters" had a "fitness in it, which recommends it to my mind." Newman never forgot that he spoke for himself, and that there were other minds.

"THIS IS A BOOK FOR ALL THE WORLD TO READ"
—Charles Poore, *N. Y. Times*



How Far the Promised Land?

By WALTER WHITE

Foreword by

Ralph J. Bunche

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Among the writers represented in *Catholic Approaches* only Lord Frank Pakenham, whose essay is about "The Catholic in Politics," deigns to mention . . . "the devout Protestant whose devotion to Christ may well be as great as his own." Thus what is being urged upon us is not, "This is the way we see it," but, "This is the way it is."

The easiest of these essays to digest is that on "Divisiveness in the United States" by Father William F. Lynch, editor of the Fordham University quarterly, *Thought*. Father Lynch addresses some very apt remarks to "the many" and "the few": ". . . the central tradition of the intelligence in human society should be that of a kind of natural priesthood of light, communicating light and guidance to the people, leading the people and not itself to the heights of freedom and truth."

In general, *Catholic Approaches* makes clearest Huxley's statement to Kingsley, ". . . the most sacred act of a man's life is to say and to feel, 'I believe such and such to be true.'"

It is a commonplace jest among colored Protestant clergymen that the Negro who is something other than a Baptist or Methodist "has been tampered with." *God's Men of Color*, written by Father Albert S. Foley, summarizes in brief biographical capsules a full century of seeking and participation on the part of Negro priests in the Catholic Church.

Father Foley tells us in his concluding chapter that sixty-eight colored priests have come from the roughly four hundred thousand colored Catholics in this country. This number stands against the forty-seven thousand coming from the twenty-nine million Catholics in the U.S. To Father Foley, the sixty-eight "is not abnormally low, considering also the few high school opportunities of the colored Catholic boy." This may be.

But Dr. Johnson said of the writer what must without reservation be applied to the Christian: that it ought to be his first endeavor "to distinguish between nature and custom; or that which is established because it is right, from that which is right only because it is established." The amazing thing which strikes us as we read the struggles and accomplishments recorded in *God's Men of Color* is how a religious faith purporting to have its origin in the cornerstone of Christianity and its eyes on eternal truths could ever have allowed its sacred or secular arms to work cooperatively with the abuse of human dignity inherent in racial segregation. Many a high school opportunity for colored Catholic boys has until recent years been blocked by Catholic School doors closed to Negroes in obeisance to social custom.

This is not to say, however, that Protestants have been any more Christian in this respect. As late as June 15, 1955, the editors of *The Christian Century*, referring specifically to desegregation, gave utterance to their impotence: "The Churches . . . are not responsible for the ordering of society through government, but when government makes a move which sustains and supports Christian principle . . . the church will be judged by its support for or opposition to this action." The prose is limpid.

Despite all this, *God's Men of Color* makes for informative reading. The pioneer Catholic priest of the U. S., one James Augustine Healy (the "beloved outcaste" about whom Father Foley has written a full-length biography), rose from the handicap of his slave-era illegitimacy (he was born in 1830) to become a bishop. His brother Alexander Sherwood Healey also became a priest. Yet another Healy, Patrick James, who as its president made a significant contribution to Georgetown University in Washington, was likewise the son of an Irish settler and mulatto slave girl. But a most challenging example in Fother Foley's

hagiology is that of Father Stephen L. Theobold (1874-1932), protégé of the liberal and fiery Archbishop John Ireland. Father Theobold's religion meant enough to him to clear his vision. "The church, by insisting on essential things of life and on the immortality of the human soul, was the only institution," he declared, "that could get at the roots of racial discrimination."

Distinguished for his persistence and frankness is Father Herman A. (Martin) Porter, now serving temporarily as assistant pastor of St. Joseph's Church in Saginaw, Michigan. The "vagaries of certain clergymen" in the Church rather than the Church itself refused Father Porter's applications thirty-five times before the Fathers of the Sacred Heart, a small congregation in Wisconsin, admitted him when this seminary's superior managed to push through a decision "to admit colored students and novices." Father Foley presents a revealing example of Father Porter's frankness:

> Father Porter is frank enough to recognize that there are three groups of Negroes who do seem to prefer white priests to colored, especially in the South: (1) those who need a socially acceptable leader-priest to intercede for them in the political and economic order; (2) some social climbers who feel that their status is improved if they go to a church administered by a high-prestige white pastor; and (3) some mulattoes, in certain parts of the South, who wish to become white and prefer to have white priests rather than visibly colored ones.

It should be noted here that the Church operates several mental institutions throughout the nation.

God's Men of Color reflects a variety of temperaments—shading from genuinely liberal to conservative—both in those Negroes who have successfully sought the priesthood and in influential Churchmen who have helped them attain this goal.

Perhaps more remarkable than any of the lives in *God's Men of Color* was that of the meek and humble Pierre Toussaint (1766-1853), a Haitian-born slave whose memory was quite recently honored (1953) by a pontifical Mass of thanksgiving at Old St. Peter's in New York City, and at whose grave site Archbishop Spellman placed a plaque in 1951. Arthur and Elizabeth Odell Sheehan, a devotedly Catholic husband-and-wife writing team, have (with the help of various factual records and letters) partly fictionalized the life of Toussaint. But for a just appraisal of those values which the Sheehans have underscored in their treatment of his life we must call to mind the hierarchic conception of society as well as the sterile pity of the Middle Ages.

Pierre Toussaint arrived in New York City in 1787, the year his aristocratic, slave-owning master and mistress fled Revolution-torn Haiti. He was destined to become a kind of priest without portfolio among the scattered remnants of those French elite whose objective had been to luxuriate in the wealth created by slave labor. He became an accomplished hairdresser for the upper classes in old New York, and when in 1789 his kind master returned to San Domingue and died of pleurisy, Pierre commenced to support his delicate and gentle slave-mistress. He continued to support her when in 1802 she married Gabriel Nicholas, a musician. For this obtuse sense of selfless devotion and parallel feats of servility the authors Sheehan have poured out to Toussaint a tender narrative-eulogy.

They praise the fact that he never resented being unable to ride the omnibus in New York City; they praise him because his only concern for his own freedom lay "in spiritual realms" (he often ransomed others); they praise his patience and resignation ("We must

take it as God sends it"—it never seemed to occur to him that men were amending it); they praise him for never forgetting his "proper" place in a value-warped social order (when Madame Depau told him she had expected to sit with him in his pew at St. Peter's, ". . . he answered with dignity, 'No Madame . . . that would not be proper' "); they praise his unquestioning faith (". . . he preferred to be merely a loyal parishioner, supporting his Church through all her vissitudes and not questioning the decisions of the authorities."); they praise even "the very literary hand it was" of popular novelist Henry J. Tuckerman, which in turn praised Toussaint for his humility in the New York *Home Journal* (*No familiarity ever made him forget what was due to his superiors, . . .*'" or "' . . . *a beautiful instance of what may be the disinterested relation between the exalted and the humble....*'").

The dispensations of this just man were not always devoid of judgment. He took over entirely the work of collecting contributions for New York's Catholic orphanage (which opened in 1817) when a supporter of this institution went abroad to live; he made the first contribution (one hundred dollars) for St. Vincent de Paul Church, which was to be moved from Canal Street to West 23rd Street; he kept a closed mouth about the closet-skeletons and scandals in the society which his trade made him intimate with; and he kept an early Mass (at six o'clock) with strict punctuality for sixty years!

He was human. After the burden that was his mistress died (in 1807) he married Juliette Noel, whose freedom he had bought when she was fifteen and he thirty-five. Juliette joined her husband in the business of helping others. They took into their home orphaned or abandoned Negro boys until they learned some useful trade or found work.

The Sheehan team has interpreted

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Toussaint in terms of Catholic ideals and virtues, hence their book is more about his devotional temperament than about other things which might have made him more believable, but we nevertheless are convinced that here was a man too good to be entirely true, too servile to be sensible, and too interesting to be ignored.

HENRY F. WINSLOW

REPORT ON AFRICA

***Inside Africa*. By John Gunther. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955. XXIII+952 pp. $6.00.**

Mr. Gunther went *Inside Africa* with hopes of coming outside loaded with insights. In part he has succeeded as he covered the continent looking, listening, talking, and questioning in practically every major — and some minor — parts of Africa and scattered adjoining islands. His reporting on men and movements, places and practices, geography and geopolitics is massive and minute. His account is as current as he could make it but the unequal race of rapid events against sluggish publishing procedures have relegated much of his material to the limbo. In North Africa and Egypt the bursting surge of independence has made *passé* his picture by the time what he says appears in print. To the East the continuing flux of the Mau Mau situation has blurred the scenes he painted, although his comments about animals are a worthy bit of popular museum musings, while his survey of Ugandan politics and human relations, though relatively accurate, are behind the times of the Kabaka's return. And in the south he covers ground only too familiar because of many predecessor volumes on the Union of South Africa.

Turning Westward, the incredible changes there, especially on the Gold Coast, have antiquated his reports; nevertheless, he has drawn a credible and creditable sketch of how the British, when faced with the inevitable, cleverly surrender control in such a manner that the "hated imperialists become popular even with the most ardent nationalists." And he has probed into personalities with a stiletto of word objectivity that no doubt horrifies the venerators of Albert Schweitzer with the exposure of his ignorance, ungenerous character traits, and as being "one of those good old souls who would like to see the white man stay on in 'colonial' areas forever." He does, however, acknowledge his greatness.

Although the swift pace of events has made obsolete some of the data, this is not the fault of Mr. Gunther. But the volume has a weakness which he contributes all his own as he diminishes his usefulness as an outside reporter through generalizations that are glaringly lacking in factual support:

> Liberians are, of course, sensitive about demeanor, exactly like Paraguayans, the ancient Toltecs, or citizens of Fort Worth, Texas.
>
> Ethiopians are not only extraordinarily proud but sensitive in the extreme.
>
> [In Ethiopia] people are too supercilious to work.
>
> The two worst Arab traits are probably (a) cruelty, and (b) homosexuality. Traditionally Arabs are—or can be—as cruel as the Chinese, or even more so.
>
> [Of Northern Nigeria] not a single Jew lives in the entire vast region.

In spite of these defects, which could have been avoided with more understanding of African cultures and peoples, and regardless of several slips such as his comments about Jane Vialle being "a distinguished senator in Paris," when the woman is actually dead, this

is an informative work. It is not encyclopedic, since the style is too personal; but it does contain a large amount of useful information about various aspects of who and what and where and when and how and why about parts of Africa that make it a most competent guide book helpful in explaining and understanding recent, recurring, and continuing episodes there. It is further enriched with good maps, useful statistics, geographical descriptions, and an index.

HUGH H. SMYTHE
Brooklyn College

PASSIONATE SEARCH

***Night.* A novel by Erico Verissimo. Translated by L. L. Barrett. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1956. 166 pp. $2.95.**

***Brancos E Pretos.* Romance de Raul de Azevedo. Rio de Janeiro: Irmãos Pongetti, Editores, 1955. 137 pp. Cr$40,00 ($2.00).**

What these two novels, or perhaps it would be better to call them long short stories, have in common are protagonists in passionate search of their identities. The Stranger in *Night*, a temporary victim of amnesia, searches for his lost personal identity. Dr. Lauro Gomes da Silva in *Whites and Blacks* seeks to establish an identity, through intermarriage, in the Rio upperclass. Plot in both books is virtually nonexistent, and the narrative element in the second very thin.

The Stranger in *Night*, suffering from emotional shock and pursued by feelings of guilt, wanders the streets of an unrecognized city in a Salvador-Dalian nightmare. He goes his rounds, with a mysterious white figure in the background, guided by two sinister individuals, the Hunchback and The Master. He visits a hypocritical wake, a drooping street fair, a fancy brothel, an agonizing emergency hospital, and a shabby night club. The story is told from the Stranger's point of view.

Verissimo's material is commonplace, his characters worthless as social types, and his exploration of the mechanisms of the mind a failure. The ideas are either maudlin or platitudinous and the adventures are more sordid than startling. The author suggests a Freudian origin of the Stranger's amnesia. One was the Stranger's panic at seeing his parents in coition: he thought his mother was being murdered. The other was the impotence of his wedding night. Neither explanation is entirely convincing. *Night* is a new narrative adventure for Verissimo, but not a successful one.

The thesis of *Whites and Blacks* is that a man should be judged by his character and his brains rather than his color. Surely not an original idea, but one which Raul de Azevedo feels should be iterated to his color-conscious countrymen. There are two families in Rio, one a family of genteel whites; the other, a family of cultured, educated Negroes. Normally their paths would never cross, so the author entangles their destinies by having the son of one, the Negro Dr. Lauro Gomes da Silva, fall in love with the beautiful daughter, Clara Maria dos Santos Guedes, of the other.

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When Clara's brother Celso visits Dr. Silva to express family disapproval of the union, Celso falls in love with Dr. Silva's beautiful sister, Ana Luiza. So instead of one black in-law, the Guedes get two.

The idea of accepting two black in-laws is so shockingly repellent to Clara's brother Raimundo that he develops a psychosis and has to be confined to a mental hospital, where one of his doctors turns out to be his brother-in-law. Raimundo is later released as cured. But at his father's birthday party his old anti-Negro mania seizes him and he shoots his Negro in-laws, the brother-in-law through the heart; the sister-in-law, through the head. "There was a moment of terror and panic. . . . Raimundo frenetic, threw the gun on the floor, ran weeping to the two bodies, and kissed them frantically. His obsession had made him a murderer."

The ending is as silly as the story is thin. There is no plot, merely some disconnected comments on color prejudice in Brazil and race prejudice in the United States coupled with puffery of the good breeding and culture of the Negro protagonists.

This is the third Brazilian "race relations" novel this reviewer has read within the last four years. The others are Romeu Crusoé's *The Curse of Canaan* (reviewed in the October 1951 *Crisis* at page 552) and Alexandre dos Anjos' *The Misfit* (reviewed in the November 1952 *Crisis* at page 607). Because interracial marriage is a means whereby Brazilian Negroes can climb into the upper class—among the *brancos finos*—, we find these, Americanly-speaking, race novels centering their plots on racial intermarriage. The theme is similar to our American theme of the butcher's daughter marrying the Detroit industrialist. Basic opposition, both of the Brazilian *branco fino* and the Detroit plutocrat, is to accepting a lower-class person. However, in Brazil there is the added complication of color, and the darker the person the more *declassé* he is felt to be. Very light Negroes, once they marry into the *gente fina*, are, however, socially accepted as white; hence the weak opposition to spouses who are not noticeably negroid.

None of these "racial novels" has the atmosphere of tension and anxiety we find in their American counterparts, even when written, as is *The Curse of Canaan*, by a Negro.

MONTGOMERY BUS STRIKE

(*Continued from page* 138)

from the "outside." Thus matters stand at the end of the second month.

On January 30, a bomb was tossed onto the porch of the Rev. M. L. King, leader of the boycott. It shattered windows, ripped a hole in the porch, and cracked a porch column, but no one was hurt.

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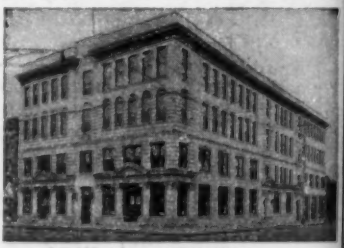

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